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Wangdjó is also a monster. Some say it is like a tapir, some that it is like a horse; still others think that its nose, eyes, hair, arms, legs, and buttocks are like those of an Indian. "There is no meat on it," and "its backbone sticks up." Its belly flashes as it flies through the trees, and smoke, ashes, and flame pour from its mouth and nostrils.

Like Kuchágn, Yunggí is piglike, and it kills people by shooting them.

Véin was another supernatural. He was good-looking. He looked just like a man; he was smooth and had no body hair at all. He walked on the earth like a human being and never flew through the air. He had red eyelids and an enormous penis, and his testicles were as large as those of a horse. His sexual desire kept pace with his corporeal endowments, for he wished to copulate with women constantly. In folklore he suffers death twice: once when he sodomizes Padnmbá, who kills him for it by throwing bees' sugar into his mouth, and on another occasion when, after eating several communities of people,[4] he is killed by a shaman.

This pantheon is rather a nightmare, but the Kaingáng are not so consistent in their thinking as they are in their dreaming. They call all supernatural beings, whether good or bad, *nggīyúdn* and confuse the malevolent with the benign, with the result that occasionally Yóin and Véin appear in benevolent roles. For a long time, for example, Yóin was a man's hunting companion and used to tell him where to find tapirs, and once Yóin told another man where he could find howler monkeys. But advantageous contacts with Yóin and Véin are rare, they are predominantly frightful characters to the Kaingáng.

As malevolent personalities Yóin and Véin are apt to be confused, at least in name, with any evil-working supernatural. "One night," said Klendó, "I died. A tapir that was an *nggīyúdn* that was a woman came and led me off and I went around with her. Then I came back and recovered. Next day they asked me about it, and I became well. Yóin did this to me. She wanted me to copulate with her, but I would not. I was young and that is why she wanted to take me away."

### *Spirits of the Natural World*

The ghost-soul is called *kuplêng*,[5] but together with the monsters and the spirits of the natural world, it is also called *nggīyúdn*. The spirits of the natural world dwell everywhere—in trees, under the water, in rocks, and in cliffs. They inhabit the sun and the moon and the stars, and animate the wind and the storm. There are the spirits of the tapir, the deer, the squirrel, the snake, and all other animals and insects. These spirits may appear to humans in their natural form or in the shape of human beings.

[4] This act is attributed by some to Yóin.

[5] Plural, *nggaplêng*.

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A monkey may address a man from a treetop, or "the tapir that is a supernatural being that is a man" [or woman] may suddenly appear to a hunter. Water's Talking, the *nggĭyúdn* of the waters, is an alligatorlike monster whose principal occupation is to seduce women when they come to fetch water. Spirits may confer supernatural powers, but encounters with them are just as often disastrous as they are beneficial. "A man sees an animal in the forest, and it says to him, 'Why do you come? You frightened me.' 'I come hunting.' 'You will not see any animals. Go away! Go back!' Then he goes away, and when he returns to camp, he tells the people and dies." Characteristically enough, when a Kaingáng meets the supernatural, the attitude is one of mutual distrust; the Indian fears the spirit, and the spirit fears him. Sometimes the spirit invites the Indian to visit his house, but the Indian is usually afraid for his life and goes away.

Snake said to Kemblén,[6] "Come and look at my house." So he went there and saw the tremendous number of offspring the snake had. They were like human children. "My children are here," said the snake; "take one of them." But Kemblén was frightened and said nothing. "Do not tell about having seen me," admonished Snake. But Kemblén told of his experience, and Snake became angry and bit him. That is how Kemblén lost his hand. "If he had not told, he would not have been bitten." The spirits tolerate a refusal to visit them or even to adopt one of their children, but they cannot endure anyone's telling about having seen them. Whoever reveals his experience with a spirit dies or falls sick, and if he has already received power from that spirit he loses it. But sometimes encounters with spirits are useful.

My informant Vomblé, for example, met Bee, who appeared to him in the form of a man. "He said to me: 'Live with me in my house. If you live with me, you will not be hungry. In my house it is warm even when it is cold. I am going to place some food aside for you.' I asked him, 'Where is your house?' and he said, 'It is here.' His honey was in the hollow of a tree. It was the door of his house. But I became afraid that I would be killed; so I said, 'I am going away. Later I will come back to you.' And I went away. But Bee said to me, 'When you go, you may be hungry;' so he showed me where there were honey and jacutingas, saying: 'Shoot some. Then go beyond and you will see howler monkeys on a pine tree. Shoot them all. Some may go away.' So next day I looked at the hive and told Angnelo[7] to cut it out. 'That is what Bee showed me,' said I. She chopped the tree down. It was a big hive, but I did not eat any of the honey because I was afraid since I had seen a *nggĭyúdn*. I also shot the jacutingas. I saw another hive. I met my father, and when I was walking along with

[6] See p. 77.
[7] His step-mother. Deceased.

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him, he asked me whether I had seen any honey. 'Yes,' said I, 'it is the one that Bee told about; so I came this way to look and saw it. I also shot the jacutingas he told me about.' My father chopped out the hive—there was a great deal of honey in it, but I ate none of it. I told him about the howler monkeys, and next day we went to look for them. After that I saw no more of Bee."

Since Vomblé told about his meeting with Bee he never saw the spirit again. It is not characteristic for people having these experiences to abstain from the fruits of their good fortune, and as far as I have been able to discover, this abstinence on the part of Vomblé was a matter of personal choice. Vomblé is not a shaman, and the economic benefits he received from the supernatural were only temporary. Yet one visitation yielded him something of permanent value, for it rendered him immune to all sickness. Once he was so sick that he became unconscious. While he lay there, he saw Moon. "He came down. He was like a cord—white. He came down with his wife, Star. Moon had a potsherd and there was medicine in it. He said to me, 'What is killing you?' 'I have a head- and chest-ache. My body is sick and I cannot stand.' Moon kneaded me and felt of me. He poured medicine over my body and head, and I recovered. I fell asleep. Moon was a little man. Now I am never sick."[8]

One of the ways in which mortals may establish permanent and friendly relations with the spirits is to adopt one of their children. One of Amendó's children [the Amendó of many husbands] was a bee child. She took one of the spirit's children and placed it in her womb, and ever after that she was able to find beehives easily. Another story tells how a man adopted a child of the monkey spirit. It looked like a human being and remained devoted to him like his own child. It deflected the arrows of his enemies, and when they tried to knock trees down on top of his house to crush him, it caused the trees to fall on the attackers. Sometimes men take the children of spirits and put them into their wives' wombs, from which they later emerge in the form of human children. Even if a spirit is adopted in its animal form and even if it never confers power of any kind, it is loved like a pet, and its death is avenged like the death of a human being. A highly affective relationship with the supernatural is the only kind of friendly relationship that is intelligible to the Kaingáng. Another kind of friendly tie with a spirit is phrased in terms of the hunting-companion relationship. Having a guardian spirit involves "going around with it" and "living with" it, just as one does with a hunting companion or in one's extended family. When the Kaingáng describe a shaman's relation to his guardian spirit or spirits, they say that "he saw it *all the time*."

[8] Vomblé is one of the most resistant of the Kaingáng and was one of the few who did not fall ill during the influenza epidemic in 1933.

774 The characteristic North American guardian spirit experience in which
776 an individual sees his benefactor once only and receives a token from him is unknown to the Kaingáng, to whom the only earnest of security is continuous, unbroken contact. All lasting relations with the spirits are expressed systematically in the habitual mode—"all the time." The Kaingáng do not say that the spirit did so and so. They say it "would [i.e. regularly] do so and so." So Ketédn,[9] who could walk dry through a downpour, "used to see *nggĩyúdn*. He saw Yóin and used to go out with him and shoot tapirs. Yóin would say: *'Yûgn*, there is a tapir,' and Ketédn would shoot it." Although "living with" the spirits does not involve intermarriage and sharing of wives, as it may on the human level, it does imply the sharing of food. A quarter must be left for the spirit that has shown one where to
[782] kill a tapir, and honey must be shared with one's supernatural benefactor. Kakthí[10] "saw Snake, who told her to get honey, and she always shared it with him." Such a division of food is not conceived as a sacrifice or as a payment for goods received but simply as the same kind of sharing that exists between hunting companions or among members of the same extended family.

### *Shamanism*[11] *and Curing*

776 A guardian spirit came to one through an accidental encounter or through being "pointed out" by a shaman, i.e. one who already "had been seeing it" for a long time. The preliminary mortification of the flesh—the fasting and self-torture—that are found over wide areas in North America where the vision is known was foreign to the Kaingáng. Nor did the Kaingáng prescribe any training for those who were to receive guardian spirits. The spectacular visions that are features of the guardian-spirit quest in North America were unknown. Kaingáng visions of spirits of the natural world were very simple: "One day Ketédn bent down to drink from a pool. When he looked up over his shoulder, he saw Toad, who said to him, *'Yûgn*, why do you come?' 'I am looking for tapir.' 'You will not see tapir, you will see *tateti*.'[12] Then Ketédn shot *tateti*." Many visions were of this simple character. Some were invitations, like Vomblé's vision of Bee, who invited him to come to his house. Occasionally someone lost consciousness through fear of the spirit and was told where to find animals while lying senseless, but there was rarely any visual or auditory elaboration of detail. The very appearance of the spirits remained vague, for they were described simply as looking like human beings or like the animals they represented. Encounters with the ghost-soul or dreams of supernatural

[9] See p. 43.

[10] See fn. p. 67.

[11] There are no Kaingáng shamans today; the few there were have died.

[12] An animal resembling a pig that lives in burrows on hillsides. It is about two feet long and somewhat less in height.